

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S/P:CRHUME;LM  
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TO AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN,IN

SUBJECT:SPEECH FOR AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM LAKE AND BRIZILL

1. SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO PROGRESS ABROAD ARE BEING COLLECTED FROM BUREAUS. SHOULD BE NOTED THAT D/HA HAS DOUBTS ABOUT REFERRING TO ENCOURAGING ACTIONS IN COUNTRIES THAT REMAIN SERIOUS OFFENDERS. THIS CAN BE DISCUSSED ON YOUR RETURN.

2. FOLLOWING IS REVISED DRAFT.

BEGIN TEXT: THANK YOU VERY MUCH. I AM PLEASED TO BE WITH YOU TODAY. THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS, I AM SURE, OF AS MUCH INTEREST TO YOUR ORGANIZATION AS IT IS TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. YOU HAVE A LONG TRADITION OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RULE OF LAW AND THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES, AND YOU HAVE AN ILLUSTRIOUS  
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RECORD OF HELPING TO RESOLVE THE DIFFICULTIES OF ENSURING THAT THOSE PRINCIPLES ARE PUT INTO PRACTICE.

INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. WE APPRECIATE THE DEDICATION AND WISDOM WITH WHICH YOU HAVE PURSUED THIS

GOAL.

THE MOMENT IS PROPITIOUS. THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS ACHIEVING A WIDESPREAD SUPPORT AND DEEP COMMITMENT. THIS IS EVIDENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IN MANY CASES, PROGRESS IS NOT BEING MADE. BUT THE SIGNS ARE THERE THAT THIS ISSUE IS TOUCHING A RESPONSIVE CHORD IN A GROWING NUMBER OF COUNTRIES--AMONG BOTH PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS.

HERE IN THE US THERE IS A NEW AWARENESS OF THE DYNAMISM AND VALUE OF OUR FOUNDING PRINCIPLES. NOW, AFTER 200 YEARS, THEY CONTINUE TO BIND US TOGETHER AND TO DEFINE OUR NATIONAL IDENTITY. AFTER A DIFFICULT PERIOD OF SELF-DOUBT AND SELF-CRITICISM, AMERICANS ARE MORE CONSCIOUS OF WHAT THEY HAVE IN COMMON THAN OF WHAT DIVIDES THEM. AND RESPECT FOR THE WORTH, THE DIGNITY AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS AT THE CORE OF OUR COMMON HERITAGE.

WE HOLD THE COMMON BELIEF THAT GOVERNMENT MUST DEPEND ON THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, AND THAT POLITICAL FREEDOMS ARE BEST PROTECTED THROUGH THE GIVING OR WITHHOLDING OF THAT CONSENT.

WE BELIEVE THAT GOVERNMENT MUST BE BOTH FAIR AND JUST IN THE EXERCISE OF ITS POWER, WHETHER TO PUNISH THE CRIMINAL OR TO ASSIST THE AFFLICTED.

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WE BELIEVE THAT A DECENT RESPECT FOR THE OPINION OF MAN-KIND REQUIRES OUR GOVERNMENT TO BUILD ITS POLICIES ON THE FOUNDATION OF OPEN DEBATE.

FURTHER, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR SOCIETY HAS OBLIGATIONS TO THE NEEDY AND DISADVANTAGED AMONG US, AND THAT GOVERNMENT MUST PLAY ITS PART IN MEETING THOSE OBLIGATIONS.

THESE BELIEFS ARE COMPATIBLE WITH THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS RECOGNIZED IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. GENERALLY, THESE ARE:

--FIRST, THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM GOVERNMENTAL VIOLATION OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON. SUCH VIOLATIONS INCLUDE TORTURE; CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT; AND ARBITRARY ARREST OR IMPRISONMENT. AND THEY INCLUDE DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL, AND INVASION OF THE HOME.

--SECOND, THE RIGHT TO THE FULFILLMENT OF SUCH VITAL NEEDS AS FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH CARE, AND EDUCATION. THE

FULFILLMENT OF THIS RIGHT WILL DEPEND, IN PART, UPON THE STAGE OF A NATION'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. BUT WE ALSO KNOW THAT THIS RIGHT CAN BE VIOLATED BY A GOVERNMENT'S ACTION OR INACTION--FOR EXAMPLE, THROUGH CORRUPT OFFICIAL PROCESSES WHICH DIVERT RESOURCES TO AN ELITE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE NEEDY, OR THROUGH INDIFFERENCE TO THE PLIGHT OF THE POOR.

--THIRD, THE RIGHT TO ENJOY CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES--FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, OF RELIGION, OF ASSEMBLY; FREEDOM OF SPEECH; FREEDOM OF THE PRESS; FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE ONE'S OWN COUNTRY; FREEDOM TO TAKE PART IN GOVERNMENT.

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AS YOU SEE, WE ARE NOT ALONE IN OUR BELIEFS. THE IDEALS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY ARE YET A STRONG AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCE. AND THEY SEEM TO BE GAINING A NEW VITALITY.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA GAVE US ONE EXAMPLE. THIS SPRING, AFTER A PERIOD OF RESTRICTED POLITICAL FREEDOM, INDIA CONDUCTED AN OPEN ELECTION AND REESTABLISHED ITSELF AS THE WORLD'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY. AND WITH THIS ELECTION THE INDIAN PEOPLE SENT THE MESSAGE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD--THAT LIBERTY IS BY NO MEANS A LUXURY FOR THE WELL-TO-DO.

WITHIN THESE PAST FEW YEARS, PORTUGAL HAS RID ITSELF OF AUTHORITARIAN RULE AND SET UP A WORKING DEMOCRACY.

NEIGHBORING SPAIN HAS UNDERTAKEN SIMILAR CHANGES. THERE THE TRANSFORMATION TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IS MORE RAPID THAN PREDICTED ONLY A YEAR AGO. THE RECENT SPANISH ELECTION SHOULD DISPELL DOUBTS WHETHER A GENERATION UNUSED TO SELF-GOVERNMENT COULD ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF DEMOCRACY.

IN 1974, THE GREEK PEOPLE REASSERTED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY AS THEIR HISTORIC BIRTHRIGHT.

LOOKING BEYOND THESE FOUR COUNTRIES WE CAN STILL SEE OTHER IMPORTANT SIGNS OF ENCOURAGEMENT. THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS ARE STIMULATING GREATER CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THESE HAVE BEEN THE CATALYST FOR INDIVIDUALS IN EASTERN EUROPE TO JOIN TOGETHER TO URGE THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO MONITOR THE RESPECT ACCORDED HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES AND TO URGE

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IMPROVEMENTS ON THEIR GOVERNMENTS. WE DO NOT OVERLOOK THE REPRESSION OF THESE GROUPS. WE ARE COMMITTED ON THIS POINT AND EXPECT ALL SIGNATORIES TO IMPLEMENT THE HELSINKI PACT.

A MORE INTENSE INTERNAL DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS TAKEN PLACE IN MANY COUNTRIES. SOME, ACTING ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE, HAVE ALREADY TAKEN STEPS TO IMPROVE THIS PRACTICE. WE HOPE THAT THESE ENCOURAGING SIGNS PRESSAGE MORE SIGNIFICANT CHANGE AND A GATHERING COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, NATIONS ARE AWARE THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MUST AIM TO MEET THE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE. MANY COUNTRIES IN THE THIRD WORLD HAVE TURNED AWAY FROM GRANDIOSE SCHEMES AND SHOW-CASE INVESTMENTS AND APPLIED THEIR ENERGIES TO ECONOMIC PROJECTS THAT HELP THE MAJORITY OF THEIR CITIZENS.

THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE THAT THEY TOO HAVE A PART TO PLAY. SPURRED ON BY A SHARED INTEREST IN A MORE PROSPEROUS WORLD AND BY THEIR OWN VALUES, THESE GOVERNMENTS HAVE PLEDGED A LARGER CONTRIBUTION TO COLLECTIVE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE LIFE ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

THE CHANGING PRIORITIES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS, REFLECT THIS RENEWED CONCERN. THESE BANKS ARE GRADUALLY REDIRECTING

MUCH OF THEIR RESOURCES TOWARD RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS THAT HELP THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY OF THE US IS ATTUNED TO THESE FAVORABLE SIGNS. IT IS DESIGNED TO PUT OUR PRINCIPLES

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INTO PRACTICE. IT IS ONE THAT REACHES OUT TO COMMUNICATE THAT THIS NATION SHARES THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE ELSEWHERE. THEREFORE, IT IS NOT A CAMPAIGN TO PROJECT OUR OWN PREFERENCES, BUT A COMMITMENT TO FIND OUR COMMON TIES WITH OTHER PEOPLES.

I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT WE CLAIM NO CREDIT FOR POSITIVE

CHANGE ELSEWHERE. MEANINGFUL IMPROVEMENTS ARE PRIMARILY THE PRODUCT OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN RESPONSE TO LOCAL SITUATIONS. THE CREDIT FOR PROGRESS GOES TO THE COMMITMENT OF OTHER PEOPLES AND THE WISDOM OF THEIR LEADERS.

WHEN WE FIND IT NECESSARY TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, WE PREFER TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN IN PRIVATE TO THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNED. IT IS RIGHT AND PROPER THAT OUR PREFERENCE IS TO DISCUSS DIFFERENCES IN PRIVATE. BUT OTHER GOVERNMENTS MUST BE AWARE THAT WHEN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS FAIL TO CONVEY OUR MESSAGE, PUBLIC COMMENT MAY AT TIMES BE NECESSARY. AND WE SHALL NEVER APOLOGIZE FOR EXPRESSING OUR COMMITMENT TO OUR PRINCIPLES.

AT TIMES WE MAY ALSO LIMIT OUR COOPERATION WITH GOVERNMENTS THAT CONSISTENTLY VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS. WHILE SUCH ACTION IS NEVER OUR PREFERENCE, CONSISTENT VIOLATIONS UNDERMINE THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING NEEDED FOR COOPERATION. IN EACH CASE OUR DESIRE IS TO BE ABLE TO ENCOURAGE AND REWARD PROGRESS, RATHER THAN TO DECRY OR PENALIZE ABUSES.

AND WITH EACH STEP WE TAKE WE WILL BE WORKING TO EXPAND OUR COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES, FOR IN THE LONG RUN THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT WILL BE UNCLASSIFIED

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TO MAKE THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT PARTICIPATED IN EQUALLY BY ALL.

LET ME DESCRIBE BRIEFLY HOW WE TRANSLATE THIS POLICY INTO SPECIFIC ACTIONS.

THE ESSENTIAL STARTING POINT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IS AT HOME. WE MUST BE VIGILANT TO PROTECT THE CONSTITUTIONAL

LIBERTIES OF OUR OWN PEOPLE AND COMMITTED TO IMPROVING THEIR WELFARE. OUR INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS WILL BE HOLLOW UNLESS OUR DOMESTIC ACTIONS REFLECT A FIRM COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT WE URGE OTHERS TO PURSUE.

AS DIRECTED BY THE CONGRESS, WE REVIEW ALL OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN THE LIGHT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY OF THE RECIPIENT GOVERNMENTS. AS IN THE CASES OF ARGENTINA, URUGUAY AND ETHIOPIA, WE MAY LIMIT OR WITHDRAW OUR AID. IN OTHER CASES WHERE THE HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE OF THE RECIPIENT IS UNSATISFACTORY, WE MAY DECIDE TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE AID BUT ONLY BECAUSE OF

OVERRIDING US NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS.

THE CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AFFECTS THE ADMINISTRATION OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. MOST OF THIS AID GOES TO MEET THE HUMAN NEEDS OF THE POOREST SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION. THEREFORE, LIMITING THIS HELP CAN BE A DIFFICULT CHOICE BECAUSE WE CANNOT DO SO WITHOUT ADVERSELY AFFECTING THE ASPIRATIONS FOR A BETTER LIFE OF PEOPLE WHO WERE IN NO WAY RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. WE USE OUR VOICE AND VOTE IN THE WORLD BANK AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS TO OPPOSE LOANS TO GOVERNMENTS THAT FLAGRANTLY VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS, UNLESS THE SPECIFIC LOAN BEING CONSIDERED WOULD CLEARLY HELP MEET THE NEEDS OF THE POOR. AGAIN, THIS IS ALWAYS UNCLASSIFIED

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A DIFFICULT CHOICE TO MAKE.

WE HAVE HELPED ARRANGE AN INTERNATIONAL LOAN TO PORTUGAL TO HELP THAT COUNTRY IN ITS DIFFICULT TRANSFORMATION INTO A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

WE ARE ACQUIRING MORE POWERFUL RADIO TRANSMITTERS FOR RADIO LIBERTY AND RADIO FREE EUROPE. WITH THESE TRANSMITTERS, THESE STATIONS CAN BETTER BROADCAST MESSAGES FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD TO THEIR LISTENERS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION.

DURING THE PRESENT REVIEW OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS, WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO ENCOURAGE A FULLER PERFORMANCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS BY ALL THE SIGNATORIES.

IN THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, WE SUPPORTED A SUCCESSFUL INITIATIVE OF VENEZUELA TO INCREASE THE RESOURCES AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN

RIGHTS COMMISSION. A HUMAN RIGHTS MAJORITY JOINED TOGETHER TO ENDORSE A STRONG RESOLUTION. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS COMMISSION CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN INVESTIGATING ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND SUGGESTING IMPROVEMENTS.

AT THE UNITED NATIONS WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO GIVE NEW STRENGTH AND VITALITY TO THE UNITED NATIONS EFFORT TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE ORGANIZATION TAKE THE DIFFICULT BUT CRUCIAL STEP OF IMPROVING ITS INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN AN EVEN-HANDED AND UNCLASSIFIED

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COMPREHENSIVE WAY.

THEREFORE WE ARE PUBLICLY SUPPORTING AN INITIATIVE OF COSTA RICA TO ESTABLISH A UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. WE ARE URGING THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO MEET MORE FREQUENTLY TO DISCHARGE ITS FULL RESPONSIBILITIES. AND WE WANT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO SET UP A SPECIAL PANEL TO GIVE NEW IMPETUS TO THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TORTURE.

IN OUR POLICY TOWARD AFRICA WE ARE SEEKING THE PROMOTION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS--THE RIGHT THAT EACH PEOPLE SHOULD BE ABLE TO DETERMINE FREELY THEIR GOVERNMENT AND THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS SHOULD WORK FOR RACIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY. THUS WE ARE SEEKING FREELY ELECTED AND INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENTS FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND WE ARE ENCOURAGING AN END TO DISCRIMINATION AND PROGRESS TOWARD FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

AS INSTRUCTED BY THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY VANCE IS REQUESTING ATTORNEY BELL TO EXERCISE HIS AUTHORITY TO GRANT PAROLE ADMISSION TO 15,000 INDO-CHINESE REFUGEES. OUR SYMPATHY FOR THEIR PLIGHT MUST BE REFLECTED IN OUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP.

AND, WE ARE STUDYING NUMEROUS OTHER WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN POSITIVELY PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS AND THROUGH OUR OWN ACTIVITIES ABROAD. AWARE THAT OUR GOALS ARE AMBITIOUS, WE ARE DETERMINED THAT OUR EXPECTATIONS BE REALISTIC. WE KNOW HOW DIFFICULT THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BE EVEN IN OUR OWN SOCIETY.

WE BELIEVE THAT THESE INITIATIVES ARE IMPORTANT AND FORTHRIGHT EXPRESSIONS OF OUR POLICY. BUT OUR OWN ACTIONS ARE NOT SELF-IMPLEMENTING. FOR SUCCESS THEY

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DEPEND ON THE RESPONSE OF OTHERS, AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH WE HAVE TAKEN SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES INTO ACCOUNT.

FIRST, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE US LACKS THE POWER AND SHOULD RESIST ANY INCLINATION TO IMPOSE ITS PREFERENCES ON OTHERS. NOR DO WE HAVE THE FORCE TO COMPEL OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO PERFORM EVEN THOSE AGREEMENTS FREELY

UNDERTAKEN. WE MUST NOT PROCEED AS IF WE HAD SUCH POWER.

SECOND, THERE IS NO INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION NOR UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED PROCEDURE TO RESOLVE DISAGREEMENTS OVER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE COURT TO WHICH WE CAN APPEAL IS TO THE JUDGMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION. IN SO DOING WE MUST RELY ON THE STRENGTH OF OUR IDEAS AND THE WEIGHT OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS TO PERSUADE AND ENCOURAGE A POSITIVE OUTCOME.

THIRD, WE CANNOT EXPECT TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALL CASES MERELY BY WITHDRAWING FROM INVOLVEMENT WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS. IT IS CERTAINLY MORE DIFFICULT TO FIND POSITIVE AND CREATIVE WAYS TO ENCOURAGE GOVERNMENTS TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS THAN IT IS TO PENALIZE POOR PERFORMANCE BY WITHDRAWAL OF ASSISTANCE. BUT THE BENEFITS OF FINDING POSITIVE MEASURES ARE FAR LARGER.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE COMPLEXITIES WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL IS OUR EFFORT TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

DOMESTIC LAW REQUIRES THE ADMINISTRATION TO USE ITS VOICE AND VOTE TO OPPOSE LOANS FROM THE REGIONAL BANKS TO ANY GOVERNMENT THAT "ENGAGES IN A CONSISTENT PATTERN OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN UNCLASSIFIED

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RIGHTS...UNLESS SUCH ASSISTANCE WILL DIRECTLY BENEFIT THE NEEDY PEOPLE IN SUCH COUNTRY." WE MUST, THEREFORE, IN

EACH INSTANCE BALANCE OUR OBJECTIVES: TO DENY SUPPORT TO A GOVERNMENT THAT VIOLATES HUMAN RIGHTS, MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE FOR ECONOMIC WELFARE--OR TO OVERLOOK VIOLATIONS AND HELP THAT GOVERNMENT TO MEET ITS CITIZENS NEEDS. WE WEIGH EACH SUCH DECISION CAREFULLY AND INDIVIDUALLY.

HERE AS ELSEWHERE WE ARE ENCOURAGING OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO HELP PROMOTE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE EFFECTS OF THESE EFFORTS WILL MULTIPLY TO THE EXTENT THAT OTHERS JOIN IN.

THE TIME, AS I SAID, IS PROPITIOUS. THE CHALLENGE, AS YOU KNOW, IS ENORMOUS. THE CONSTRAINTS ON OUR ACTIONS ARE REAL. WHAT THEN CAN WE BE EXPECTED TO ATTEMPT AND TO ACHIEVE?

WE MUST ANCHOR OUR POLICY IN THE ACTIONS WE TAKE AT HOME TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS. IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY THIS



CANNOT BE A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT ALONE. THIS ORGANIZATION AND ITS MEMBERS HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN ENSURING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IT AND OTHER CONCERNED GROUPS AND INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS MUST CONTINUE TO DO SO.

THERE ARE ALSO IMPORTANT ACTIONS YOU CAN UNDERTAKE TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS ELSEWHERE. IN SOME COUNTRIES OUR COLLEAGUES WHO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THOSE PROSECUTED FOR POLITICAL REASONS ARE HARRASSED AND PENALIZED THEMSELVES. I URGE YOU TO SUPPORT EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE LEGAL ASSISTANCE IN SUCH CASES.

THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE AN INTEGRAL PART  
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OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. IN PARTICULAR, AS WE CONSIDER SPECIFIC PROGRAMS OF COOPERATION AND SUPPORT, WE WILL BE TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PERFORMANCE OF THAT GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

AT MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS WE WILL BE ACTIVELY PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS. EACH OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS OFFERS A DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK--SOME, SUCH AS THE UN, WERE ESTABLISHED IN PART TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT OTHERS DID NOT HAVE THIS AS A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE. IN EACH WE WILL BE WORKING WITH THOSE

GOVERNMENTS OF A SIMILAR INCLINATION TO ADOPT THE MOST EFFECTIVE POLICIES.

IN THE REVIEW OF OUR AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER STATES, SUCH AS THE REVIEW NOW GOING ON OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS, WE INTEND TO HEED CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM OF OURSELVES, AND WE WILL PRESS OTHERS TO GIVE EQUAL RESPECT AND RESPONSE TO OUR OWN VIEWS. FOR AS A MATTER OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT A PURELY INTERNAL MATTER.

NOT JUST IN THE REVIEW OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS, WHERE WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH OTHER SIGNATORY STATES, BUT IN OUR OTHER ACTIVITIES WE ARE ACTIVELY PROMOTING BROAD INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THE CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD UNITE NOT DIVIDE THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS, AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH WE ACHIEVE COOPERATION WITH OTHERS WILL HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON THE KIND OF IMPROVEMENTS WE CAN EXPECT.

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LET ME CLOSE BY STRESSING THAT THE GOAL OF OUR POLICY  
IS IMPROVED RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE ACTUAL  
PRACTICE OF GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD. WE DO NOT  
INTEND TO BE DISTRACTED BY SHORT-TERM ADJUSTMENTS THAT  
OTHER GOVERNMENTS MAKE. TOKEN IMPROVEMENTS WILL NOT  
BUY OUR APPROVAL, ALTHOUGH REAL PROGRESS WILL ALWAYS BE  
APPLAUDED. SYMBOLIC REPRESSION WILL NOT DISSAUDE US.  
FOR IN THIS COUNTRY AS ELSEWHERE, WE UNDERSTAND THAT  
THE FULL ATTAINMENT OF HOPE IS THE ANIMATING FORCE  
BEHIND OUR POLICIES. WE CAN BEST GIVE EXPRESSION TO  
THAT HOPE THROUGH PRACTICAL, DEDICATED AND PERSISTENT  
EFFORT. END OF TEXT VANCE

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